friendly with the intervening Tachi (and, presumably, Salinan).

Wowol territory was somewhat west and elsewhere south of the Chunut. One important village was called Yiwo'ni. An island in Tulare Lake belonged to the Wowol; it was called witi'tsolo'wɔn. On it was a village which J.A. and her mother visited by means of balsas. They had a relative there. On the island was a tremendous number of bleaching bones which J.A. says were those of humans who had died of smallpox.[1] The visit was probably made between 1860 and 1870; it was "before the big earthquake."

South of Bakersfield lived people who "had a lake in the middle of their mountain. It dried in the summer." (This may be Castac Lake, possibly a small lake near present Tehachapi.) This tribe was called tipe'kɔl yoko'č (red clay people) "because they lived in houses plastered with red clay, with tule roofs which were covered with mud." The people who live there now are called Tejon (whether this was Fort Tejon or Tejon Ranch some distance to the east, J.A. could not determine; probably the former, which is near Castac Lake).

The Tokya (Chumash and Salinan) lived "on the coast"; the Salinan of Chulame were called Tokya also. Various types of shell money were got from them. J.A. had not heard of Mutulu (a coast Indian raider mentioned by Wobonuch informants) or other individuals from the coast, and believed that the valley people went out to do their trading rather than that coast people came in. She, too, says that the bought shells were worked into money by the Yokuts purchasers.

At Ventura lived the Ititu'wɔt, but J.A. does not know whether this was the Yokuts name for these people, or what they called themselves.

The Kawe'sa (Kawaiisu) lived east of Tejon, toward the hills "and talked something like the Monachi." They were noted for their large bows and arrows.

The Ričiki'tu (Pitanisha) lived at Whiskey Flat "over back of Kern River." At another time J.A. said Ričikitu was "the Mexican name for the Pitani'sa who lived at Pita'nɔn, where there was a deep little river."

Localities

The following sites are located on Local Map A (map 2). Places known to be villages are marked with a dot and circle.

1. mu'sahau: a Wechihit village
2. wewa'yo: a Wechihit village
3. wo'hui

[1] Powers mentions a "plague" which took many lives in the Fresno River region a few years before his visit (Tribes of California, 380).

meat tabu was observed. Girls who drank cold water and ate meat got overly fat.[243] Like M.L., M.P. said "girls followed the moon, and boys the sun," but added that "girls were always sick on the full moon," which is, of course, impossible. Girls gauged the expected arrival of their periods by the condition of the moon from month to month, as explained by M.L. In the old days, said M.L., a menstruant cooked for the family as usual, but she slept on the opposite side of the house from her husband and intercourse was strictly tabu.

During adolescence both boys and girls were sent to swim at night. The informant J.B. gave this practice a name, pa´duwiš, and defined it more rigorously than others. For thirty nights during the coldest, frostiest weather (December-January), a lad or young girl was sent out three times each night, once just after he had fallen asleep, again halfway through the night, and again near dawn just before the other members of the household would be arising for their own swim. The youngster who slept soundly was given a vigorous poking until he got up and went out. The swimmer ran back wet to prove he had immersed himself; he dried and warmed himself by the low fire and jumped back into his bed. The purpose of these efforts was to produce a physical and mental hardiness. After adolescence a person of character continued the practice, though not quite so rigidly, i.e., one dip a night was sufficient. It took some fortitude on the part of the parent who himself must waken to see that his sons or daughters were roused each night three times: J.B. said, "old men sometimes lost their children because they wouldn't see that they did this right each night." People often did the same thing in the summertime and those who did "never got sick." Such bathing was of an extra and special sort: it was taken as a matter of course that one swam at daybreak every day merely as a matter of decent behavior and personal cleanliness.

J.B. added that every man talked to his own children, especially his sons, telling them how to behave, to be industrious, and to be respectful toward supernatural manifestations. Both boys and girls learned their duties and techniques of work from their father and mother by association, emulation, and specific instruction.

Marriage.

The only regulation of marriage was a restriction based on blood relationship. All Wukchumni informants claimed that a relationship as distant as third-cousinship was a tabu to matrimony. A marriage with such a relative

[243] M.P. attributed the obesity of a certain old woman, who was obviously tumorous, to infringement of the meat tabu.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

lower, or down stream limits of the village. It is explained that this was done in order that the bathing would not disturb the water of the stream which was used by the inhabitants of the village.

In many instances the *Winatun*, or messenger for the Headman, or Chief, lived near the sweat house. It was his business to meet strangers, or visitors, and escort them to the chief. A second Winatun lived on the main trail at the up-stream limits of the village. It is probable that the lower Winatun occupied the sweat house when he happened to be a man without a family. Women never entered the Yokuts sweat house.

It was due to the practice of sweating that measles and smallpox, as well as other fevers, took such heavy toll of the Indians not only in the San Joaquin Valley, but throughout the western United States. Fevers were apparently unknown to them. Their ordinary ailments were principally rheumatism and other infirmities due to cold and exposure. Pioneer settlers of the San Joaquin Valley have repeatedly described the death within a few weeks of almost entire tribes of Indians due to measles, or smallpox, when treated in the sweat house.

The sweat house was held in high esteem by all Indians. Why this should be the case has aroused the curiosity of many persons. When one considers the most important use to which it was put, this attitude on the part of the Indians is not strange. Most Indian hunting was done by stalking. Deer and other animals were killed with bow and arrow, often at a distance of less than forty feet. White deer hunters will appreciate the difficulty of approaching this close to a deer, even should the hunter be disguised by a deer head and horns and covered with a deer skin. It is readily appreciated that often at the distance of several hundred yards the deer will scent a hunter and take flight. The Indian also knew this. For this reason he was very careful about two or three things. His hunting equipment was always hung up where it would not be touched except when he was hunting. In this way it carried no scent.

Before going hunting the Indian entered the sweat house and bathed in the river. Taking his weapons, he proceeded to the game country with the knowledge that, for at least five or six hours, deer and other game would not be able to distinguish his scent. As this gave the sweat house a very practical and vital use, it is not strange that the Indians almost universally came to regard it as sacred.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

sugar factory about a mile south-east of Visalia. This was the real old Telumne head village. When I was a little girl there I knew the last chief of that tribe. His name was *Nahalets* (Nah-ha'-leets). White people called him Joaquin. His wife was *Hawtulu* (Haw-too'-loo, meaning Hoot-owl). They were the head people there when I was born.

My father's name was *Po'-kah-sah'*. He was born at the old Chunut village called *Mih-ka'-et* just south of the mouth of Tule River. I believe the white people call that place Turnbull. It was about a mile above the old Turnbull house. At Mihkaet my people used to surround antelope and kill them. We call them *guey'-yohl*. My father died when I was about six years old, but my mother showed me the place two or three times.

My mother was *Te-ta-we'-cot*. She was born at the old Wowol village of *Chawlawin* on Atwell Island where Alpaugh is now. *Wocoiyu* (Wo-coi'-you), my mother's father, was chief of the *Wowol* tribe. When he died his oldest brother was chief. This brother's name was *Teh-nih'-pahs*. After I was grown he died at *Sulawlahne* (Soo-law-lah'-ne), the "Fish" Rice Rancheria, four miles south of Farmersville. I learned much about my old-time people from him. He was my good uncle.

When I was a little girl at Watot Shulul there was a big log fence around the old house at the Blankenship ranch just southeast of us. They were afraid of the Indians. We used to laugh at this, for we used to work for the Blankenships and we knew our people would never hurt them.

There was a young Indian girl working for Mrs. Blankenship. Once they could not find her. They looked for a long time. They found her dead and covered up with dirt and leaves. Some of our people saw a white man take her from where she was washing. We were afraid to say anything about it. He was bad man. He killed lots of Indians and he would have killed us if we had told Mr. Blankenship. We have always been sure that the white man killed her.

I have heard my mother and lots of other Indians tell about the log fence in Visalia, too, but I never saw it. The white people built it because they were afraid of the Indians. It was torn down before I was old enough to remember.

When I was about seven years old the Indians all got sick at Watot Shulul. Lots of them died. They had measles. The Telumne tribe was all broken up. The chief, Nahalets, died

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 and all of the Indians left the place. This was just after the
164 big water that the white people call sixty-two [flood of 1862]. They never lived at Watot Shulul again.

159 Nahalets' wife, *Hawtulu*, and a few of her people went to the old *Nutunutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) village on the Burris ranch at Kings River. The chief there was *Pah-ko'-ake*. I knew him for a long time. Hawtulu died there when she was an old lady.

My people went to the old village at the "Fish" Rice Rancheria south of Farmersville. There my father took sick and died. We buried him there.

[103 361] Just a few months before I was born my father and mother lived at the old Chunut village of *Heuumne* (He-oo-um'-ne) about four miles south of Waukena. This was the place where the big ditch is south of the Artesia school and where Mr. Sweet had the slaughter house. Mother had one child, a little boy. His name was *Wehpes* (Weh'-pees). White people called him Bill Foster.

159 While my parents were living there [1854], soldiers on
648 horseback came to take them with all of the other Lake Indians to the Fresno River Indian Reservation. None of the Indians wanted to go. But the soldiers hunted until they found most of the Indians. The soldiers beat the Indians with whips and hit them with their swords and ran their horses over them when they would not go. Some Indians were shot because they ran away. My mother said she saw twelve Indians killed. The rest had to go anyway.

It took about ten days to get all of the Indians together. The soldiers did not let them take time to carry any grub. Then it took four days to drive them to Fresno River Reservation. My mother and father both went. They carried little Wehpes all of the way. He was about two years old.

All this time the Indians only had a few things to eat. They ate a few mussels from the river and a few tule roots. Some Indians caught a few salmon along the San Joaquin river and ate them raw like they did the mussels and tule roots. About ten Indians died on the way. Three or four babies were born along the way.

When they got to Fresno River Indian Reservation there was nothing there to eat. The soldiers killed some cows and gave the Indians some acorns that had been gathered for two or three years and were eaten by worms.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159
648

Split puncheon log fort built about six miles east of Visalia as protection against the Indians at the beginning of the Indian War of 1856. Colonel Thomas Baker, founder of both Visalia and Bakersfield, outfitted at this fort at the beginning of that war.

My father and mother were at Fresno River Reservation about two or three months. Then some of the soldiers took them to Fort Tejon. A wagon hauled some grub along, but the Indians walked all of the way. About fifty Indians went on this trip.

There were soldiers at Fort Tejon. It was not up in the mountains but was on the Tejon Ranch, west of the Headquarters. My father and mother worked awhile at Fort Tejon, but they did not like it there. None of our people liked it. They all wanted to go back to Tulare Lake.

Lots of the Indians sneaked away in the night, so one night, as soon as it got dark, my father and mother left. They went along the foothills and hid every day until they came to the Kaweah river. Then they came down to Watot Shulul, where Visalia is now. In a few days I was born. It was about a year after the soldiers took my father and mother from the old village south of the Buzzard's Roost at Waukena [1855]. My father and mother stayed at Watot Shulul until after the big sickness [measles], when all of the Indians left. My mother washed and my father cut wood for the Blankenships.

[361]
[164]

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

NS29 Yokuts NS29

the hills—but all in all the moves probably encompassed not more than a twenty mile span, on the average, for anyone.

There is some evidence that early fall was a season of general sickness for people in the San Joaquin valley, especially for those in the swampy region near the lake. The evidence is tenuous; whether the illness was due to stagnant, contaminated or alkaline water, to heat stroke, to an increase in tularemia as the result of greater handling of rabbits and ground squirrels, it is impossible to say.[13]

September saw a return to the villages: winter storage preparations were made, and with view to the complete reëstablishment of normal community life plans were started for the great event of the year, the Annual Mourning Ceremony (luní·ša). To this end much material—foodstuffs in abundance, treasures of baskets, feather ornaments, money—had been prepared or saved. Preparatory loans already had been floated to be returned at high interest at the time of the festivity, usually late October. Necessary supplies of deer meat were obtained by special hunters at the very time of the event. Guests came by the hundreds. Obviously such large-scale entertainment could be managed only at the season of most plentiful food supplies.

Thus October saw the greatest of the year's festivities, the six-day ceremony of special rites, one for each day, climaxing in the all night mourning and distribution of wealth, followed by the ritual cleansing, and ending with a feast, game playing and dancing, the acquisition of foods, gifts, and exchanged treasures. These affairs might be held in two or three Yokuts-Mono tribes during this period (roughly late September to early November), and the same persons attend them, at home as hosts, elsewhere as reciprocal ritual participants, or as visitors.

November brought the final seasonal ceremony, the Bear Dance (nōhō·'o ka·maič), which marked the first use of the new acorn crop by all persons of the Bear lineages—sometimes for other people as well.[14] This brief but exciting performance ended with a feast of acorns prepared and served by Bear people to their guests, after which they themselves partook. The dance was timed to follow the final harvesting of acorns and coincided with the time when bears betook themselves to winter hibernation.

Thus ended the ceremonial year, with mourners released from their restrictions, with storehouses filled, with houses repaired, and with long evenings ahead

13 A comparable summer sickness of waterfowl in this area is on record (Joseph Grinnell, Harold Child Bryant, and Tracy Irwin Storer, *The Game Birds of California*, Berkeley, 1918, p. 17).

14 Lineage attributes and functions have been described in the author's *Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization* (American Anthropologist, vol. 47, pp. 409-426, 1945).

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

a nook of the mountains. Doubtless they would eventually have seized all the streams emptying into Tulare Lake, but they seem to have become enervated by the malaria, and reduced to the same condition of sluggishness as the people whom they displaced.

At the time of the American advent, therefore, the Yokuts occupied the south bank of the Fresno; the San Joaquin, from Whisky Creek down to the mouth of the Fresno; King's River, from Mill Creek down to the mouth; the Kaweah, Tule River, and Deer Creek; the west shore of Tulare Lake, and the isolated mountain-nook at Fort Tejon.

Their tribal distribution was as follows: On the San Joaquin, from Whisky Creek down to Millerton, are the Chūk'-chan-si; farther down, the Pit'-ka-chi, now extinct. On King's River, going down stream, are the following bands, in their order: Tis-e'-chu, Chai-nim'-ai-ni, It-i'-cha, Wi'-chi-kik, Ta'-chi, No-toan'-ai-ti, the latter on the lake, the Tachi at Kingston. On Dry Creek are the Kas-so'-vo; in Squaw Valley the Chu-kai'-mi-na. On the Kaweah River, beginning in the mountains, are the Wik'-sach-i, Wik-chum'-ni (in the foot-hills), Kau-i'-a (on the edge of the plains), Yu'-kol (on the plains), Te'-lum-ni (two miles below Visalia), Chu'-nut (at the lake). On Tule River are the O-ching'-i-ta (at Painted Rock), Ai'-a-pai (at Soda Spring), Mai-ai'-u (on South Fork), Sa-wakh'-tu (on the main river), Ki-a-wet'-ni (at Porterville). At Fort Tejon are the Tin'-lin-neh (from *tin'-nilh*, "a hole"), so called on account of some singular depressions in the earth in that vicinity. A little further north, near Kern Lake, are the Po-hal'-lin-Tin'leh (squirrel-holes), so named on account of the great number of ground-squirrels living in that place.

In the Yokuts nation there appears to be more political solidarity, more capacity in the petty tribes of being grouped into large and coherent masses, than is common in the State. This is particularly true of those living on the plains, who display in their encampments a military precision and regularity which are remarkable. Every village consists of a single row of wigwams, conical or wedge-shaped, generally made of tule, and just enough hollowed out within so that the inmates may sleep with the head higher than the feet, all in perfect alignment, and with a continuous awning of brushwood stretching along in front. In one end-wigwam lives

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

pine sugar, hold them before the fire until it is melted, then lay them gently on the abdomen of the parturient. The sweat-house everywhere prevails, of course, but it is smaller among these southern out-door people than it is farther north, being never used for a council-house or a dance-house.

The rain-maker, or wizard, though very potent, can be put to death by vote of a council, in case a patient dies under his treatment. Occasionally the manner of his taking-off is still more tragic. The Mono, being unsophisticated mountaineers, originally had no professional wizards, and in 1864 a Yokuts, named Sacate, went up from the plains to them, and for a time prosecuted an extremely lucrative practice. But he finally lost a case, and thereupon the simple and sincere Mono, being unable to comprehend how a man whose function was to save life could lose it and be guiltless, crushed in his skull with a stone.

These wizards sometimes chew the seeds of the jimson-weed (*Datura meteloides*) to induce delirium, which their dupes regard as the touch of an unseen power, and their crazy ravings as divinely-inspired oracles. It is related that an ambitious wizard once chewed too much seed and yielded up the ghost.

An old Indian, named Chu-chu'-ka, relates that many years ago there was a terrible plague which raged on both sides of the Fresno, destroying thousands of lives. According to his account it was a black-tongue disease. Abundant evidences of his truthfulness have been discovered in the shape of bones. A man named Holt was digging a ditch on Ray's ranch, near Sand Creek, and found such an immense number of bones about eighteen inches under the surface that, after digging three hundred yards, he was forced to abandon the undertaking. On Hildreth's ranch, near Pool-of-Water, a large box of human bones was collected in making a garden.

It is the custom of the wizards to hold every spring the rattlesnake dance (*ta-tu'-lo-wis*), which is a source of great profit to the cunning rogues. They plant green boughs in a circle, inclosing a space fifty or sixty yards in diameter, wherein the performances are held, as are most of the Yokuts' dances. The great audience is congregated in the middle, while the wizards dance around the circle, next to the arboreal wall. Besmeared with numerous and fantastic streaks of paint, and gorgeously topped with feath-

*161 the region and left a circumstantial account of his visit. Starting from Bubal, he approached the Telame area, reaching first the village of Gelecto, where ". . . encontraron no mas el cementerio: se habia destruido por las guerras. . . ." These wars apparently were raids and skirmishes in which refugees from the missions and [648] other Indian villages participated. From Gelecto the party went to Telamni ". . . al llegar alli los divisaron de Lihuauhilame el grande . . . done al dia anterior habian tenido una gran refriega cuyo resultado fue dar muerte a unos 8 hombres . . . ." The captain of the latter rancheria sent a messenger to Martinez with the report the place contained "como de 300 casados." Gelecto was one league from Lihuauhilame and since the latter village could be seen from Telame the distance between the two could not have been more than a league. Martinez then went six leagues south to Quihuama, before proceeding westward on the way home.

Lihuauhilame contained 300 married men, or heads [592] of families. The aboriginal social family consisted of at least five persons, and even after the disruption suffered from 1804 to 1816 must have amounted to four. The total population, according to this assumption, must have reached fully 1,200, with a probable pre-invasion value of at least 1,500. Martinez therefore gives us four sizable places: Gelecto (depopulated), Telame (minimum 800 according to Moraga and Cabot), Lihuauhilame (1,200), and Quihuama.

Subsequent visitors (e.g., Estudillo, 1819, and Rodriguez, 1828) mention Telame but give no data with respect to size nor do they specify any other rancherias in the immediate vicinity. For basic population data we are consequently forced to depend upon Cabot, Moraga, and Martinez.

In the discussion of Bubal mention was made of the attrition of population due to war and disease during the period following the first entry of the Spaniards in or about the year 1800. That these factors were very serious becomes even more evident from the accounts of the [648] Telame region. Martinez describes the total obliteration of Gelecto, which he ascribes to the "wars." Elsewhere [578] in his report he refers to much internecine fighting among villages and between natives and fugitives from the missions. Moreover, the Spanish accounts repeat ad nauseam the statement that this or that village was attacked or destroyed in the course of various expeditions, or that village after village was deserted by its inhabitants because of fear of the soldiers. It is highly probable that there is a great deal of lost history pertaining to the central valley during this period and that tremendous destruction was inflicted upon the native villages which was never recorded in the official documents.

*161 Hunger and disease were likewise rampant. Clear
165 indication of this condition is contained in the sentence
731 of Ortega, in 1815, with respect to Telame: ". . . encontrando esta grande rancheria toda desparramada por la mucha mortandad que havian tenido, y la much hambre que padecian. . . ." With regard to the cause of the "mortality" it is clear that a part was due to the killing by the Spaniards and other Indians during the "wars," a part was due to famine, and very likely the remainder was due to disease. Although this factor is not specifi- *161 cally mentioned, the word "mortandad" was widely em- ● 164 ployed by the Spaniards and Mexicans to connote the 173 effects of an epidemic. Furthermore, the absence of disease would be more difficult to explain than its presence in view of the wide intercourse between the peoples of the southern valley and those of the coast at a time when the Indians of the missions were dying by thousands

*161 ●164 731 from measles, dysentery, and other contagious maladies introduced by the whites. The whole picture is one of ruinous devastation in the Kaweah delta just prior to 1816, with accompanying disorganization of the local economy and reduction of population.

The effect of war, disease, and starvation cannot be emphasized too strongly, nor can mention be made of them too often. On account of their debilitating influence the populations seen in the Kaweah delta and reported in the documents cannot possibly be overestimates of the aboriginal number. On the contrary, they undoubtedly represent too low, rather than too high, a figure.

*161 361 Reverting now to the villages reported, Moraga mentions eight places, four of them by name or other specific reference. Martinez mentions four, all by name. Cabot refers to Telame as the largest village in the Tulares. Elsewhere (MS, 1818) he states that before reaching Telame there are five rancherias, including Quiuamine and Yulumne. Quiuamine is no doubt the Quihuama of Martinez.

Telame was one village, according to all observers except Moraga (actually Muñoz, who wrote the diary). Moraga ascribes 600 people to the first Telame and 200 to the second. The first estimate, be it noted, was "segun corto computo," or according to a short count. The estimate must therefore on Moraga's own admission be increased, certainly to 1,000 and perhaps more. In view of the size of the well known rancheria Bubal, fully 1,300, Telame must have contained 1,200 persons.

In addition to the two Telames Moraga mentions a "big rancheria" one league to the east. Hence there were three villages which comprised what may be termed the Telame complex. No figures were given by Moraga for the unnamed rancheria, since it was entirely deserted. However, since it was regarded as "big," there must have been several hundred inhabitants, say 500. The total for the triad then would have reached nearly 2,000.

The Martinez description is apparently somewhat at variance with that of his predecessor. Martinez saw, cites distances for, and mentions by name three rancherias: Telame, Lihuauhilame, and Gelecto. They were located within a radius of one league of each other and must correspond to the three seen by Moraga. Gelecto was in ruins, with only the cemetery still in evidence. Hence Gelecto may very well have been the big, deserted rancheria of Moraga. Martinez gives no population data for Telame but says there were 300 heads of families in Lihuauhilame, which was, therefore, without much doubt the largest of the three. According to Moraga's figures, Telame I was the largest. Hence the concordance seems to be that Telame, Lihuauhilame, and Gelecto of Martinez correspond respectively to Telame II, Telame I and the "big" rancheria of Moraga. As pointed out previously, the total inhabitants to be deduced from 300 heads of families, under the conditions existing in 1816 was 1,200. This is twice the estimate of Moraga.

*161 An important point arises here with respect to Moraga's estimates. At Bubal, it will be remembered, Martin found evidence of 1,300 people in 1804 whereas Moraga reported only 400 in 1806. At Lihuauhilame Martinez found according to the statement of the village chief 1,200, although Moraga had reported ten years previously only 600. Furthermore Cabot, at Bubal eight years after Moraga, found 700 persons. For these two important villages therefore Moraga differs flatly with three other competent authorities by a factor of two or three. Similar instances may be found elsewhere in